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# Message Text

SECRET

PAGE 01 BRASIL 03330 01 OF 02 271719Z
ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----------271723Z 014938 /40
O 271540Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1296

S E C R E T SECTION 1 OF 2 BRASILIA 3330

NODIS

STADIS

FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FROM CRIMMINS

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO BONN FOR AMBASSADOR AND LONDON FOR NYE

E.O. 11652: GDS
TAGS: ENRG, PARM, BR, GW
SUBJ: FRG/GOB NUCLEAR AGREEMENT - NEXT STEPS

REF: STATE 092297

1. WE BELIEVE THAT THE TIME HAS COME TO MAKE THE MOVE PROPOSED IN THE REFTEL. THE CRITICAL FACTOR REMAINS OUR READINESS AND ABILITY TO EXERT PERSUASIVE INFLUENCE AND PRESSURE ON THE FRG.

2. OUR COMMENTS, KEYED TO THE SUBPARAS OF PARAS 3 AND 4 FOLLOW:

A. PARA 3, FIRST SUBPARA: WITH RESPECT TO THE REFERENCES TO OUR SALT PROPOSALS AND OUR COMPREHENSIVE TEST BAN POLICY, WE ASSUME THAT THESE WILL BE RELATED IN THE TEXT TO BRAZILIAN CONCERNS ABOUT VERTICAL PROLIFERATION. THIS

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WOULD BE INTENDED TO WEAKEN THE BRAZILIAN ABILITY TO ARGUE, NOT ENTIRELY SPECIOUSLY, THAT THE PROBLEM IS IN VERTICAL AND NOT HORIZONTAL PROLIFERATION.

B. PARA 3, SECOND SUBPARA: WE AGREE WITH THE IDEA OF RAISING THE SUBJECT TO THE LEVEL OF THE THREE CHIEFS OF GOVERNMENT, BUT WE NOTE, AS A POINT OF FACT, THAT THERE

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SHOULD BE NO MISUNDERSTANDING ABOUT GEISEL'S DIRECT
GUIDANCE OF THE DISCUSSIONS THAT HAVE BEEN CARRIED OUT
THROUGH DIPLOMATIC CHANNELS THUS FAR. CONCERNING THE
QUESTION OF A SPECIFIC PROPOSACSWITH RESPECT TO FURTHER
DISCUSSIONS, WE LEAN TOWARD NOT MAKING AN OFFER BECAUSE
IT WOULD SUGGEST TENTATIVENESS AND INDECISIVENESS ON OUR
PART. IF THE GOB WISHES TO SEEK A MEETING TO PURSUE THE QUESTION,
IT WILL LET US KNOW, UTILIZING PERHAPS THE STILL OPEN
PROPOSAL FOR A "NON-DISCUSSION".
ON MEANS OF DELIVERY, IT WOULD NOT BE NECESSARY OR
WISE TO PROVIDE A BACK-UP DUPLICATE. THERE IS NO DANGER
THAT SILVEIRA WOULD NOT TRANSMIT SUCH A LETTER UNDISTORTED.

C. PARA 3, THIRD SUBPARA: WE IN BRASILIA ASSUME
THAT OUR HOPE THAT SCHMIDT WOULD ENDORSE THE PROPOSALS TO
GEISEL WOULD BE BASED NOT ONLY ON THEIR MERITS BUT ALSO
ON THE FIRM INVOCATION OF OTHER RELEVANT ASPECTS OF THE
USG-FRG RELATIONSHIP. WE REAFFIRM THE CONVICTION THAT,
WITHOUT FRG ACTION, IN THIS CASE SCHMIDT'S SUPPORT OF THE
PROPOSALS, THE GOB HAS NO INCENTIVE TO MOVE.

WITH RESPECT TO THE SEQUENCE OF PRESIDENTIAL ACTIONS,
IT WOULD BE HIGHLY PREFERABLE, IN OUR VIEW, FOR THE PRESIDENT
FIRST TO GET SCHMIDT'S ENDORSEMENT OF THE PROPOSED SETTLE-
MENT AND AN AGREEMENT TO SUPPORT IT WITH GEISEL. THEN THE
PRESIDENT WOULD WRITE GEISEL, INCORPORATING A REFERENCE TO
SCHMIDT'S ENDORSEMENT. PRACTICALLY SIMULTANEOUSLY, SCHMIDT
WOULD PARALLEL THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER WITH ONE OF HIS OWN TO
GEISEL. THE IMPACT OF USG-FRG AGREEMENT WOULD BE CONSIDERABLY
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GREATER AND THE CHANCES FOR GOB EVASION WOULD BE LESS THIS
WAY. STILL MORE IMPORTANT, IF SCHMIDT CANNOT BE BROUGHT TO
ENDORSE THE PROPOSED SETTLEMENT, WE WOULD HAVE AVOIDED A FRUITLESS
AND DAMAGING EXERCISE WITH THE GOB.

D. PARA 4, SUBPARA A, FIRST SUBPARA: THE GOB, IN THE
WHITE BOOK (PAGE 22 OF THE ENGLISH VERSION) HAS ALREADY
CONFIRMED PUBLICLY THAT, HAVING SIGNED TLATELOLCO, IT "HAS
COMMITTED ITSELF, ACCORDING TO THE CANONS OF INTERNATIONAL
LAW, NOT TO PERFORM ANY ACT WHICH DEFEATS THE OBJECTIVE OF THE
TREATY, TO WHICH THERE CORRESPONDS THE GUARANTEE THAT THE OTHER
SIGNATORIES WILL DO LIKEWISE". IN STRICTLY LEGAL TERMS,
THIS IS BY NO MEANS EQUIVALENT TO "ACTING AS IF BOUND". JUST
POSSIBLY, THIS GAP CAN, PERHAPS, BE BRIDGED. HIGHLY RELEVANT TO
THIS ASPECT, CMWEVER, IS THE QUESTION OF HOW MANY LATIN
AMERICAN COUNTRIES FOR WHICH THE TREATY IS IN FULL EFFECT HAVE
ACTUALLY SIGNED SAFEGUARDS AGREEMENTS WITH THE IAEA.
IN ANY EVENT, THE TEXT WOULD HAVE TO BE DRAFTED TO
REFLECT ACCURATELY THE BRAZILIAN WRITTEN, PUBLIC JURIDICAL

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POSITION, AS WELL AS TO REFER TO THE PRIOR EXISTENCE OF
AN OFFICIAL PUBLIC STATEMENT. THE CRITICAL FOLLOW-ON
POINT, THAT IS, "THUS ALL OF ITS NUCLEAR FACILITIES WILL
BE UNDER IAEA SAFEGUARDS", HAS NOT BEEN STATED PUBLICLY,
AND THIS PUBLIC AFFIRMATION IS, WE ASSUME, WHAT THE USG
REALLY WANTS. IN LEADING UP TO THIS REQUEST TEXTUALLY,
WE BELIEVE THAT IT IS IMPORTANT TO CITE THE OFTEN-EXPRESSED
GOB POSITION THAT IAEA SAFEGUARDS ARE THE ANSWER TO
HORIZONTAL NOF-PROLIFERATION, BEING VERY CAREFUL, HOWEVER, NOT
TO SUGGEST THAT WE AGREE, BECAUSE TO DO SO WOULD CREATE
VULNERABILITIES WITH RESPECT TO OUR POSITION ON THE
REPROCESSING PLANT DEFERRAL.

E. PARA 4, SUBPARA A, SECOND SUBPARA: WHAT DO WE
MEAN BY: "OFFER TO WORK WITH BRAZIL TO BRING THE TREATY
OF TLATELOLCO INTO FULL EFFECT"? IF WE MEAN THAT WE

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ACTION NODS-00

INFO OCT-01 ISO-00 /001 W
----------271737Z 015154 /44
O 271540Z APR 77
FM AMEMBASSY BRASILIA
TO SECSTATE WASHDC IMMEDIATE 1297

S E C R E T SECTION 2 OF 2 BRASILIA 3330

NODIS

STADIS

FOR THE DEPUTY SECRETARY FROM CRIMMINS

DEPT PLEASE PASS TO BONN FOR AMBASSADOR AND LONDON FOR NYE

WILL MAKE EFFORTS -- JOINTLY WITH BRAZIL, WHERE MUTUALLY
AGREED -- WITH THE USSR, CUBA, FRANCE, GUYANA, ARGENTINA AND
CHILE, IT WOULD BE HELPFUL TO SAY SO.
WE SHOULD BE AS CONCRETE AS POSSIBLE AND AVOID A VAGUE
FORMULATION. AS FOR THE REMAINDER OF THE SENTENCE, WE
ARE UNCERTAIN ABOUT WHAT IS INTENDED. WE ARE CONFUSED BY
THE LINKAGE OF THE NEPP QUESTION TO THE FULL EFFECTIVENESS
OF TLATELOLCO RATHER THAN TO THE PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE OF
FULL SCOPE IAEA SAFEGUARDS. THE PUBLIC ACCEPTANCE BY

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BRAZIL OF FULL-SCOPE IAEA SAFEGUARDS UNDER TLATELOLCO
MOOTS THE NEPP QUESTION, DOES IT NOT? IN OTHER WORDS,
THE BRAZILIAN INTERPRETATION OF ARTICLE 18 WOULD BE MADE
A DEAD LETTER, NOT BY THE FULL EFFECTIVENESS OF THE TREATY,
BUT BY THE ACCEPTANCE OF IAEA SAFEGUARDS WHICH DO NOT
DISTINGUISH BETWEEN EXPLOSIVES FOR PEACEFUL PURPOSES AND
FOR BELLICOSE PURPOSES. ARE WE MISINTERPRETING THE
EFFECTS OF THE IAEA SAFEGUARDS? THESE QUESTIONS WE
RAISE ARE NOT RPT NOT INTENDED IN ANY WAY TO SUGGEST THAT
THERE SHOULD NOT BE A HEAD-ON ADDRESS TO THE NEPP QUESTION.
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WE CONSIDER IT ESSENTIAL THAT THE GOB UNDERSTAND WHAT WE
ARE DRIVING AT; AMBIGUITY ON THIS POINT CAN ONLY LAY UP
SERIOUS TROUBLE FOR THE FUTURE. OUR QUESTIONS REFER RATHER
TO THE LOGICAL SEQUENCE FOR MAKING THE POINT. ON THE
SUBSTANCE, WE BELIEVE THAT, DESPITE SIGNS OF GOB MOVEMENT
(BRASILIA 3328), THE GOB WILL HAVE A GREAT DEAL OF DIFFICULTY
IN RENOUNCING NEPP'S, AND IT WILL BOB AND WEAVE AND RESORT TO A
VARIETY OF STALLS, DODGES AND LEGALISMS. ON THE OTHER HAND, THE
GOB WILL BE ON THE SPOT, AND, WE WOULD HOPE, THE FRG AS WELL.

F. PARA 4, SUBPARA B: WE BELIEVE THAT THIS IS A
POSITIVE ELEMENT THAT WOULD BE APPEALING TO BRAZIL.
THERE IS, HOWEVER, A REPROCESSING ANGLE THAT IS REFERRED
TO BELOW.

G. PARA 4, SUBPARA C: FRANKLY, WE ARE TAKEN ABACK BY
THE REFERENCE TO A "MULTI-NATIONAL ENRICHMENT FACILITY IN
BRAZIL". THIS IS NEW TO US. DO WE MEAN A "BINATIONAL" (I.E.,
FRG-GOB) FACILITY? ALSO WE SEE IN STATE 092303 (NOTAL) A
REFERENCE TO "STRICTLY LIMITED ENRICHMENT". DOES THAT
MEAN THAT WE ACCEPT THE GERMAN ARGUMENT THAT TECHNICAL
LIMITATIONS OF THE JET-NOZZLE PROCESS PREVENT HIGH ENRICH-
MENT AND THAT THERE WILL BE NO ENRICHMENT ABOVE THREE
PERCENT? ARE WE COUNTING ON FRG ASSOCIATION WITH THE
PLANT TO PREVENT HIGHER ENRICHMENT? ARE WE SATISFIED WITH THE
NATURE OF FRG INVOLVEMENT IN THE JOINT VENTURE?

H. PARA 4, SUBPARA D: ALTHOUGH WE APPRECIATE THAT
DEFERRAL IS ADVANCED IN BROAD TERMS OF AWAITING THE RESULTS
OF THE FUEL-CYCLE EVOLUTION PROGRAM, WE NOTE THAT OUR
PROMOTION OF THE ALTERNATIVE THORIUM FUEL CYCLE AND
OUR OFFER TO COOPERATE WITH THE GOB IN THE HTGR FIELD
RAISE SOME QUESTIONS ABOUT GENERAL DEFERRAL OF
REPROCESSING CAPABILITY AND OUR REQUEST FOR DEFERRAL OF
THIS TRANSFER TO BRAZIL. THE HTGR AND THORIUM CYCLE IN
OTHER REACTOR TYPES ARE MORE DEPENDENT, IT SEEMS TO US,
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ON SPENT FUEL REPROCESSING, EVEN THOUGH A DIFFERENT
CHEMICAL PROCESS NOT YIELDING PLUTONIUM WOULD BE INVOLVED, THAN
ARE THE LWR SYSTEMS. INCREASED INTEREST AND EFFORTS IN
THE THORIUM ALTERNATIVE WOULD NOT DAMPEN GOB INTEREST
IN MASTERING THE TECHNOLOGY OF CHEMICAL PROCESSING EQUIP-
MENT, REMOTE OPERATION AND MAINTENANCE, AND HANDLING AND
SHIELDING PROBLEMS ASSOCIATED WITH SPENT FUEL PROCESSING.

3. WE EARNESTLY REQUEST THAT WE BE GIVEN AN OPPORTUNITY
TO REVIEW THE DRAFT OF THE PRESIDENT'S LETTER BEFORE FINAL
APPROVAL IN WASHINGTON IN ORDER, IN PART, TO CATCH UNNECESSARILY
OFFENSIVE LANGUAGE THAT MIGHT CREEP IN. FOR EXAMPLE, THE WORDS
"WE ACCEPT" IN PARA 4C OF THE OUTLINE WOULD HAVE IN A LETTER
AN EASILY AVOIDABLE PATERNALISTIC AND PREPOTENT TONE.

4. DR. ROBERT GOECKERMAN, THE EMBASSYSCIENCE COUNSELOR,
WILL BE IN WASHINGTON FOR CONSULTATION NEXT WEEK AND
IS AVAILABLE FOR ANY INPUTS THE DEPARTMENT MAY WANT.
CRIMMINS



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# Message Attributes

**Automatic Decaptioning:** X
**Capture Date:** 01-Jan-1994 12:00:00 am
**Channel Indicators:** n/a
**Current Classification:** UNCLASSIFIED
**Concepts:** NUCLEAR AGREEMENTS, NUCLEAR PROLIFERATION, NPT, SUMMIT MEETINGS, NUCLEAR SAFEGUARDS, CAT-B
**Control Number:** n/a
**Copy:** SINGLE
**Sent Date:** 27-Apr-1977 12:00:00 am
**Decaption Date:** 01-Jan-1960 12:00:00 am
**Decaption Note:**
**Disposition Action:** RELEASED
**Disposition Approved on Date:**
**Disposition Case Number:** n/a
**Disposition Comment:** 25 YEAR REVIEW
**Disposition Date:** 22 May 2009
**Disposition Event:**
**Disposition History:** n/a
**Disposition Reason:**
**Disposition Remarks:**
**Document Number:** 1977BRASIL03330
**Document Source:** CORE
**Document Unique ID:** 00
**Drafter:** n/a
**Enclosure:** n/a
**Executive Order:** GS
**Errors:** N/A
**Expiration:**
**Film Number:** P840086-3330, N770002-0751
**Format:** TEL
**From:** BRASILIA
**Handling Restrictions:** n/a
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**Litigation Codes:**
**Litigation History:**
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**Message ID:** 1a5fc19c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
**Office:** ACTION NODS
**Original Classification:** SECRET
**Original Handling Restrictions:** n/a
**Original Previous Classification:** n/a
**Original Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS, STADIS
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**Previous Handling Restrictions:** NODIS, STADIS
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**Retention:** 0
**Review Action:** RELEASED, APPROVED
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**Review Exemptions:** n/a
**Review Media Identifier:**
**Review Release Date:** n/a
**Review Release Event:** n/a
**Review Transfer Date:**
**Review Withdrawn Fields:** n/a
**SAS ID:** 2684554
**Secure:** OPEN
**Status:** NATIVE
**Subject:** FRG/GOB NUCLEAR AGREEMENT - NEXT STEPS
**TAGS:** ENRG, PARM, MNUC, BR, GE, US, UK, (CARTER, JIMMY), (SCHMIDT, HELMUT)
**To:** STATE SS MULTIPLE
**Type:** TE
**vdkvgwkey:** odbc://SAS/SAS.dbo.SAS_Docs/1a5fc19c-c288-dd11-92da-001cc4696bcc
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